AD647261

GROUP EFFECTIVENESS RESEARCH LABORATORY

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

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Some Cross-Cultural Studies of Subjective Culture

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Technical Report No. 45

January 1967

Communication, Cooperation and Negotiation
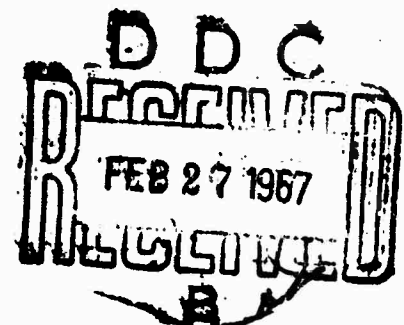in Culturally Heterogeneous Groups

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ABSTRACT

A sample of approximately 10,000 social behaviors was elicited independently using identical procedures, from American and Greek $\underline{Ss}$. The lists of social behaviors were subjected to facet analysis, which reduced them to a set of 120 maximally heterogeneous social behaviors in each culture. These behaviors were employed in the construction of two instruments: (a) A Role Differential, which consists of roles judged on scales defined by social behaviors: (b) A Behavioral Differential which consists of stimulus persons judged on scales defined by social behaviors. In each culture, the Role Differential consisted of 100 roles (e.g., father-son, boss-subordinate, daughter-mother) which were judged by male students on 120 social behavior scales. The $\underline{Ss}$ were instructed to indicate whether in their culture each of the behaviors is appropriate when it is undertaken by the first member of the role-pair towards the second member. The Behavioral Differential consisted of 96 stimulus persons (described by their occupation, race, sex, age, religion, and verbal fluency) which were judged by similar samples of male students on the same 120 social behavior scales. The $\underline{Ss}$ were instructed to indicate whether or not they would behave in the way specified by the scales towards each of the stimulus persons. Factor analyses of the correlations among the scales indicated that four factors obtained independently in each culture are essentially equivalent; additional culture specific factors were also obtained. The factor structures obtained with the Role and the Behavioral Differentials were similar, but not in every detail. The roles

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were compared on the culture common factors to discover cultural differences in

role perception. These differences were then used in the formulation of a

preliminary theory of American and Greek national character.

Summary

The present report describes a series of studies in which the role perceptions and behavioral intentions of Americans and Greeks towards a variety of social stimuli were examined. The complexity of the material that is presented is so overwhelming that only by careful study can it be helpful to the reader. The busy reader will want a short-cut. This summary is intended for him. The report will be studied by only a few individuals who are likely to actually employ in their own research the procedures described here, and by those who plan to conduct research in Greece. The others will undoubtedly just read this summary.

Introduction

The concepts of role and behavioral intention are defined and related to other social psychological concepts. A role is a normative pattern of behaviors that is appropriate for persons holding a particular position in a social system. It is most appropriate for us to think of roles as relationships between two interacting individuals (e.g., father-son, son-father) rather than as patterns appropriate for a particular position. Thus, the father-son role will have much in common with the father-daughter role, and what is common can be properly considered as the father's role. On the other hand, there is some difference between these roles and maximum descriptive accuracy requires that we distinguish them. Thus, in the present report we dealt with a sample of 100 roles (see Table 1 for the complete list) in which we considered such distinctions.

A behavioral intention is simply a statement by a S that he intends to do something. When a sample of social objects is presented to a S we can examine the correlations between his behavioral intentions. Such correlations give clusters of behavioral intentions characterized by such labels as Respect, Friendship, Marital Acceptance, Intimacy, Hostility, etc.

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The research reported here utilizes two kinds of instruments. One instrument, called the Role Differential, presents a role (e.g., father-son) and a set of scales described by behaviors. The S indicates what behaviors are appropriate in his culture within the particular role. For example, what should a father do towards his son? The other instrument, called a Behavioral Differential, presents a complex stimulus person (e.g., A Negro Female Physician) and a set of similar scales described by behaviors. The S indicates what behaviors he is likely to undertake towards this stimulus.

The basic hypotheses of the present series of studies were two: (a) The factor structure of behavioral norms (as studied with Role Differentials) will show a high degree of invariance across cultures; (b) The factor structure of behavioral norms will be similar to the factor structure of behavioral intentions (as studied with Behavioral Differentials).

Thus, the present series of studies utilized both Role Differentials and Behavioral Differentials in both America and Greece. Factor analysis was widely used to test the above mentioned two hypotheses.

The Role Differential Method

This chapter reviews our attempts to select a sample of about 100 roles and about 100 behaviors that are maximally heterogeneous. Maximal heterogeneity and proper sampling of both domains are required in order to ensure that the obtained factor structures are not biased. The Greek study utilized the same procedures as the American study. The elicitation of the social behaviors from Ss was designed to allow "Greek behaviors" to dominate the content of the Differentials utilized in Greece. The only important translation done in the present study was the translation of the list of 100 roles (Table 1). After all factor analyses were done the behavior scales were translated so that they could be included in this report, but the interpretation of the factors was done in Greek, by the Greek collaborators in this study.

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The instructions employed in the Role Differential are presented in pp. 8-10. The chapter also reviews the methods of analyses.

A Cross-Cultural Study of Role Perceptions

This chapter examines the factor structures of the behavior norms. The unrotated factors are shown in Table 2. The behaviors with the highest loadings in the American Role Differentials are shown in Table 3. Those from the Greek Role Differential in Table 4.

We also examined the similarities among the roles, through factor analyses of the 100 roles, which were judged on 104 different social behavior scales (this involves factoring the 100 by 100 matrix of role-correlations based on 104 observations). The results are shown in Table 5.

The discussion of p. 13 provides a further summary of these results.

A Two-Mode Factor Analysis of Role Perceptions

This chapter provides a reanlysis of the data of the previous chapter with a more elegant factor-analytic approach. The rationale of this approach is explained in the first two pages of this chapter. Table 6 presents the results of this analysis. The chapter summarizes some cultural differences found through this analysis.

A Cross-Cultural Study of Behavioral Intentions

This chapter examines the structure of the Behavioral Differentials utilized in the two cultures (with different samples of $\underline{S}$s). The details of the stimuli employed in the studies are presented on p. 20 . The total design of all the studies presented in the present monograph is summarized on p. 21. Table 7 presents the unrotated factors obtained in the two cultures. Table 8 presents the American Behavioral Differential results. Table 9 presents the Greek Behavioral Differential results. The remaining tables of the chapter present different explorations aimed at discovering a sensitivity of the instruments to small modifications. Thus, we look at the results when we change

instructions (utilize the should do as opposed to the would do instruction with Behavioral Differentials). Table 10 presents the results with the should do instructions. Table 11 shows the structure when the should do and the would do instructions are placed in the same analysis. Table 12 presents analyses of variance, showing how the composite scores of the stimulus person on the various factors are determined by the characteristics that are included in the stimulus persons. Table 13 shows the factor structure common to the Role and Behavioral Differential, by utilizing the judgments of both the roles and the complex stimuli on the same set of behaviors, after factor analysis of the matrix of intercorrelations of the behaviors. It is safe to say that Tables 10 to 13 will be of interest only to those who plan to utilize and analyze Role or Behavioral Differentials and who are interested in the relative sensitivity of the results obtained with these instruments to modifications in the instructions, the stimuli, etc. The topic is highly technical and not of general interest.

The Culture Common Factors

The first five pages of this chapter are recommended to the general reader. They attempt a summary of the results obtained in the previous chapters. This summary is in many ways an oversimplification of these results, but ease of communication between researchers and their audience sometimes requires the outline of the broad trends rather than the dwelling on details.

The second half of the chapter presents an attempt to extract culture-common factors by looking at the conceptual similarities among the factors obtained from each instrument in each of the cultures. This attempt provides factors that are conceptually clear (Table 14) but empirically unsatisfactory because they are correlated (Table 15). Optimal clarity in description requires a minimum of factors and zero correlations among them. Unfortunately, in order to think, we must use the labels that are provided to us by our language. Thus, our language holds that Superordination is the opposite of Subordination. If this were the

case the correlation between these two factors would be -1.00. In fact, it is -.40 for the Greek Behavioral Differential, -.29 for the American Behavioral Differential, -.33 for the Greek Role Differential and -.14 for the American Role Differential. Thus, reality is more complex than our language. Nevertheless, since our language is our most important conceptual tool, we might as well see what descriptive power it has. Table 16 shows the means and standard deviations of the conceptual factors utilized in the two instruments, in the two cultures. Table 17 shows the results of analyses of variance of the Behavioral Differential scores obtained on these conceptual factors. Table 18 shows the "profiles" of the roles on the five conceptual factors. Since all the roles used in America were not used in Greece, and the Greeks added some "typical" Greek roles, Table 19 shows the profiles of the roles used only in one culture. These profiles (Tables 18 and 19) show many cultural differences, but there is the possibility that these differences are not real, but the result of the differences in the means on the five conceptual factors (see Table 16 which shows that these means are different). To ensure that we do not call a culture difference on a particular role a difference which is due to the difference in the means shown in Table 16 we subtracted these means from the scores of Tables 18 and 19, thus obtaining Tables 20 and 21.

Since, as stated in the above paragraph, the conceptual culture-common factors leave much to be desired due to their intercorrelations, we attempted another approach. We began with the 64 roles which were employed in both cultures and examined the intercorrelations between the 60 American and 60 Greek behaviors which are obtained when the behaviors are correlated over these 64 common roles. The matrix of 120 by 120 behaviors was subjected to component analysis (factor analysis with unities in the communalities) to reduce its complexity. Table 22 shows the components obtained and two or three roles very high or very low on each component.

The components are interpreted as follows:

    I.   Giving vs. Not Giving Affect

   II.   Ambivalent Intimacy vs. Avoidance of Intimacy

  III.   Benevolent Sup. ordination vs. Avoidance

  IV.   Ambivalent Friendship vs. Lofty Avoidance

Cultural differences on the perception of some roles on these four components are shown in Table 23. The discussion of p. 42-43 suggests that neither the conceptual nor the empirical culture-common actors have an overwhelming superiority, as far as the criteria of parsimony and clarity of description of cultural differences are concerned.

Implications for Studies of National Character

In the previous chapters we established the existence of numerous cultural differences in the perception of roles and social stimuli. These are summarized in a discussion of Greek national character in which it is argued that it differs from American national character in that it is more competitive and more anti-authoritarian than American national character.

The analysis emphasizes the utility of the theoretical constructs ingroup and outgroup. We can summarize our arguments as follows: Both Americans and Greeks behave differently towards members of their ingroup than towards members of their outgroup. However, the definition of ingroup differs between the two cultures. Thus, for Americans the ingroup includes "people like me." Similarities in cognition (e.g., Rokeach), race, religion, age, etc., maximize the likelihood that an American will perceive another person as a member of his ingroup. For the Greek the ingroup includes "people I love." It does not matter much what their characteristics are. If they are relatives they are likely to be included in the ingroup. As a result of these slightly different definitions, the American ingroup is larger than the Greek ingroup.

Within the ingroup the basic principle of behavior for Americans is summarized by the idea of fairness. One must be fair to people, and appeals to

fairness are likely to be well received by an American. The equivalent principle for a Greek is the _philotimo_. A person who is _philotimos_ behaves in the way he is expected towards members of his ingroup. That means that he is not only nurturant, supportive, and cooperative, but he is even self-sacrificing in order to be helpful to a member of his ingroup. This is different from the American view which would consider it _unfair_ to sacrifice oneself for a member of the ingroup. By contrast, members of the outgroup can be treated unfairly (e.g., Americans who do not include Negroes in their ingroup); one does not have to show much consideration towards a member of his outgroup in Greece (e.g., one can compete to the limit alllowed by the law, one can be nasty, take advantage of him, etc.).

The analysis of Chapter VIII suggests that Greeks are more competitive than Americans towards most other Greeks, since other Greeks are much more likely to be outgroup members. However, guests (and sometimes tourists) are often perceived as "temporary ingroup members" and they are given much of the self-sacrificing treatment that is appropriate towards members of the ingroup. Competition extends to authority figures, which are tricked, taken advantage of, and generally given a "bad time," much more frequently in Greece than in America. Empirical support for these speculations is provided with the aid of Table 24, which shows that the Greek ingroup-outgroup distinction really makes a difference, because one shows Respect only within the ingroup, while this is not the case in America.

Conclusions

The final chapter points to the methodological advances accomplished by the present study and some of the limitations which hopefully will be corrected in further research.

Table 1: Roles Employed in the Present Study

FAMILY ROLES

111 Father-Son

112 Son-Father

113 Mother-Son

114 Son-Mother

115 Father-Daughter

116 Daughter-Father

117 Uncle-Niece

118 Nephew-Uncle

121 Brother-Brother

122 Sister-Sister

131 Husband-Wife

132 Wife-Husband

133 Brother-Sister

134 Sister-Brother

OCCUPATION PUBLIC ROLES

411 Lawyer-Client

412 Client-Lawyer

413 Clergyman-Member of Congregation

414 Member of the Congregation-Clergyman

415 Psychologist-Client

416 Client-Psychologist

418 Member of the audience-Musician

431 Tenant-Landlord

CO-WORKER ROLES

311 Boss-Secretary

312 Secretary-Boss

313 Foreman-Laborer

314 Laborer-Foreman

335 College Educated Employee-High School Educated Supervisor

321 Business partner-Business partner

325 Construction worker-Fellow construction worker

326 Big time racketeer-Fellow racketeer

331 Pilot-Navigator

332 Navigator-Pilot

333 Manager-Union Leader

334 Union Leader-Manager

335 Protestant minister-Catholic priest

336 Catholic priest-Protestant minister

POLITICAL AND CIVIL SERVICE ROLES

511 Officer of the law-Citizen

512 Citizen-Officer of the law

513 Parole officer-Parolee

514 Parolee-Parole officer

521 Politician-Fellow politician

OCCUPATION PUBLIC ROLES
(Cont'd)

432 Landlord-Tenant

433 Employer-Housekeeper

434 Housekeeper-Employer

435 Salesperson-Customer

436 Customer-Salesperson

437 Prostitute-Customer

438 Customer-Prostitute

439 Beautician-Customer

EDUCATIONAL ROLES

611 Administrator- University
    student

612 University student- Adminis-
    trator

613 Teacher-Student

614 Student-Teacher

615 Dormitory counsellor-
    Student

616 Student-Dormitory Counsel-
    lor

621 University student- Room-
    mate

631 American student-Indian
    studying in the U.S.

632 Indian studying in the U.S.-
    American student

DEMOGRAPHIC ROLES

811 Old man-Young man

812 Young man-Old man

813 Old woman-Young woman

CIVIL RIGHTS ROLES

711 White teacher-Negro student

712 Negro student-White teacher

713 Officer of the law-Civil
    rights demonstrator

714 Civil rights demonstrator-
    Officer of the law

715 Negro supervisor-White
    worker

731 City official-Civil rights
    representative

732 Civil rights representa-
    tive-City official

733 White citizens council
    member-Civil rights leader

734 Civil rights leader-White
    citizens council member

735 White-Negro

736 Negro-White

737 White boy-Negro girl

738 Negro boy-White girl

MISCELLANEOUS

911 God-Man

912 Man-God

913 Judge-Contestant in beauty
    contest

914 Contestant in a beauty
    contest-Judge

915 Club member-President

Table 1:   (Continued)

DEMOGRAPHIC ROLES		MISCELLANEOUS	
814	Young woman-Old woman	916	President-Club member
815	Old woman-Young man	917	Singing Star-Fan
816	Young man-Old woman	918	Fan-Singing Star
831	Man-Woman	921	Diplomatic negotiator-Opposing negotiator
832	Woman-Man	925	Traveller-Fellow traveller on an ocean liner
833	Boy-Girl	926	Player of game-Opponent
834	Girl-Boy	931	Host-Guest
		932	Guest-Host
		933	Tourist-Native
		934	Native-Tourist
		935	Groom-Bride
		936	Bride-Groom
		938	Welfare recipient-Person who is not on welfare
		939	Businessman-Artist

Key:

1st digit indicates type of role relationship (family, business, etc.)

2nd digit: 1 indicates superior-subordinate relationship

2 indicates identical roles (e.g., brother-brother)

3 indicates reciprocal roles (e.g., husband-wife)

3rd digit specifies the particular role.

Table 2

Highest Loadings of Three Unrotated Factors of Role Differential

American	Name	Greek
Factor I (44% of variance)	Associative Behaviors (Affect)	**Factor I** (32% of variance)
praises .89		shows love to .90
admires .89		enjoys .90
dislikes -.88		is enemy of -.76
is prejudiced against -.84		feels antipathy for -.75
Factor II (12% of variance)	Superordinate Behaviors (Potency)	**Factor III** (10% of variance)
corrects .88		reprimands .69
reprimands .82		teaches .65
is afraid of -.56		apologizes to -.65
advises .81		punishes .63
Factor III (6.5% of variance)	Very Active Behaviors (Activity)	**Factor II** (15% of variance)
argues with .59		annoys .60
asks for help of .55		quarrels with .65
throws ... at .48		flatters .63
blames for failure .44		competes with .62

Table 3

Highest Loading of Role Differential Behavior-factors after
Varimax Rotation--American

Set A		Set B	
Factor I (30% of variance)		**Factor I (28% of variance)**	
(ACCEPTANCE vs. PREJUDICE)			
be prejudiced against	-.94	fear	-.94
compliment	.92	exclude from neigh-borhood	-.94
be afraid of	-.94	be eager to see	.90
stand up for	.84	laugh at jokes of	.86
be interested in	.93	let join own club	.83
exclude from neigh-borhood	-.92	respect	.86
reward	.84	be prejudiced against	-.89
not admire	-.80	not admire	-.77
blame for failure	-.86	swear at	-.74
argue with	.81		
Factor II (14% of variance)		**Factor II (15% of variance)**	
(CONTEMPT)			
lie to	.75	cheat	.82
go to meeting with	-.75	sympathize with	-.85
enjoy meeting	-.80	enjoy company of	-.85
laugh at	.82	laugh at	.79
learn with help of	-.76	go shopping with	-.77

Table 3 (Continued)

Factor III (6% of variance)		(SUPERORDINATION)	Factor III (6% of variance)	
command	.77		inspect work of	.71
advise	.65		feel superior to	.69
treat as a subordinate	.62		order to do something	.66
be annoyed by	.58		counsel	.56
look down upon	.50		punish	.36

Factor IV (4% of variance)		(INTIMACY)	Factor IV (4% of variance)	
kiss	.84		kiss	.78
cuddle	.83		cuddle	.83
love	.43		punish	.38
marry	.35		be captivated by charm	.35

Factor V (7% of variance		(TUTORING)	Factor V (5% of variance)	
teach	.81		tutor	.69
buy gift for	.82		accept views of	.73
admire character of	.69		approve of	.51
not work well for	.50		ask for advice	-.47

Factor VI (5% of variance)		(KINSHIP)	Factor VI (5% of variance)	
accept as close kin	.61		accept as close kin by marriage	.76
ask for help of	.58		follow instructions of	.50
depend upon	.50		introduce to own friends	.48
be annoyed by	.57		like	.42
complain to	.62		ask for advice of	.38

Factor III (6% of variance)   (SUPERORDINATION)

Table 3 (Continued)

Factor VII (6% of variance) (HIGH INTENSITY)		Factor VII (10% of variance)	
cry for	-.72	mourn for	-.80
help	-.69	understand	-.76
protect	-.59	be proud of	-.72
be enemy of	.59	be loyal to	-.69
throw rocks at	.31	not eat with	.53

Factor VIII (4% of variance) (ENVY)		Factor VIII (5% of variance)	
envy	.84	envy	.88
be friend of	.48	admire ideas of	.64

Factor IX (3% of variance) (INTENSE HOSTILITY)		Factor IX (3% of variance)	
throw rocks at	.77	fight with	.61
accept as kin by marriage	-.31	avoid	.45

Factor X (3% of variance) (WORK ACCEPTANCE)		Factor X (2% of variance)	
work well for	.66	work with	.47
work for	.66	wish good luch to	-.34

Total Variance Accounted: 80%   83%

Table 4

Highest Loading of Role Differential Behavior-factors after
Varimax Rotation--Greek

Set A		Set B	
Factor I		**Factor I**	
(Associative vs. Dissociative (38.7%))		(Associative vs. Dissociative (54.0%)	
help	.72	be friend of	.98
reward	.82	invite	.86
advise	.83	discuss	.87
hate	-.90	argue with	-.80
mutually hate	-.91	infuriate	-.85
feel antipathy	-.88	be indignant with	-.87
grow impatient with	-.80	be proud of success of	.79
be indignant with	-.82	hate	-.84
		respect	.71
Factor II		**Factor II**	
(Hostility (17.0%))		(Hostility (7.3%))	
quarrel with	.87	quarrel with	.78
exploit	.76	annoy	.78
cheat	.73	accuse	.70
be jealous toward	.81	avoid	.64
lie to	.69		
Factor III		**Factor III**	
(Superordination (11.7%)-Subordination)		(Subordination (7.1%))	
thank for presents	.84	is dependent on	.78
apologize.	.80	accept commands of	.73
ask for help	.84	fear	.67

Table 4 (Continued)

Set A		Set B	

Factor IV
(Ingroup Concern for Consensus (5%))

adore the same God with	.52
is saddened by attitude of	.73
desire good attitude of	.76

Factor V
(Intimacy (3.2%))

| pet | .60 |
| cry for | .67 |

Factor IV
(Ingroup Concern for Consensus (5%))

| adore the same God with | .60 |
| admire | .65 |

Factor V
(Intimacy (2.5%))

| sex-love | .89 |
| love | .25 |

Factor VI
(Suspicion (2.6%))

| be cautious | .70 |
| be discriminating | .69 |

Factor VII
(Overt Aggression (2.8%))

| throw rocks at | .67 |
| hit | .55 |

Total Accounted by five factors: 75.6%   Total Accounted by seven factors: 81.3%

Table 14

Behaviors Used to Define Five Culture-Common Factors in two Cultures
(Both Behavioral and Role Differentials)

Respect

Behavior	American	Greek
Admire the character of	X	
Learn with the help of	X	
Be interested in	X	X
Express gratitude to		X
Be grateful for interest of		X

Friendship

Behavior	American	Greek
trust	X	
Accept as intimate friend	X	
Listen to	X	
love (non-sexual)		X
Be friend of		X
Help		X

Rejection

Behavior	American	Greek
Be prejudiced against	X	
Be afraid of	X	
Blame for failure	X	
Hate		X
Mutually hate		X
Feel antipathy for		X

Superordination

Behavior	American	Greek
Reprimand	X	X
Teach	X	X
Advise	X	X

Subordination

Behavior	American	Greek
Ask for help	X	X
Ask for advice		X
Apologize		X
Learn with help of	X	
Depend upon	X	